

people's triumphs. When the time demanded firm guidance and leadership, America has always found its strength in the Democratic Party.

Since the days of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, Americans have entrusted national leadership to our party in every period of great national challenge and peril. This was true under Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and John F. Kennedy. It is true today under President Johnson. Our new President has indeed brought continuity without confusion to the Nation we love. His state of the Union message—a great state paper—revealed a man of great courage, compassion, and vision. We support his leadership and he will be reelected President of the United States next November by the largest majority since Franklin D. Roosevelt swept every State in the Union except Maine and Vermont.

When John F. Kennedy became President on January 20, 1961, America was in the throes of its third serious recession in 6 years. Nearly 1 of 10 Americans were out of jobs; business failures were at the highest levels since the depression in the thirties; housing starts were at the lowest level since 1949; we were using only about half of our steel capacity; farm incomes were critically low; our overall national economic growth was too slow to meet our needs. Whether you call this a recession or a depression, our economy was dangerously sick.

Since then we have gone a long way under great leadership—aid for distressed areas, manpower retraining, adequate housing and highway programs, liberalized social security, and an increased minimum wage—just to mention a few achievements. Under President Kennedy the Federal Government—for the first time—came to grips with the problem of mental illness and retardation. Your Congress did more for aid for education than any Congress since 1863.

Under President Johnson's inspired leadership the most far reaching income tax cut and tax reform legislation in modern times will be enacted into law before next March 1. This Congress will enact into law the administration's civil rights proposals. I am coauthor in the Senate of the administration's civil rights legislative proposals. The most significant in 100 years. President Johnson and your Congress will not neglect the elderly. We will pass the proposal for hospital and nursing home insurance under social security, commonly called medicare.

Recently an Ohio Republican politician—indulging in a political circus parade in three Ohio cities—expressed the belief that our country has been turning to men— young and flexible. "Flexible" is defined as "ready to yield to influence." This politician said that a Republican ticket headed by BARRY GOLDWATER would make it difficult for him to be elected U.S. Senator. Then when GOLDWATER's friends became sharply critical he demonstrated his flexibility. This politician said he had been misquoted and that he would be happy to have BARRY GOLDWATER as his party's presidential candidate. This flexibility first displeased the friends of Senator GOLDWATER. The second exercise of flexibility displeased the opponents of Senator GOLDWATER. These contradictory and flexible statements also displeased honest, objective news reporters.

You and I know the rank and file members of the Republican Party are now—as they have always been—far ahead of their reactionary leaders such as "Ev" DIRKSEN and "CHARLIE" HALLECK. Many Republican Congressmen and Senators claim to be ardent supporters of the civil rights bill now before the Congress. They showed their flexibility when they refused to sign a discharge petition which would bypass the Rules Committee and bring the civil rights bill to a vote.

Not 1 of the 18 Ohio Republican Congressmen has signed this discharge petition. They certainly are flexible.

The most important problem confronting Americans and all peoples of the world today is not pending legislation; it is the problem of going along the road together—each nation with every other nation—walking hand in hand with dignity and understanding toward permanent world peace. As your Senator, I spoke and voted for confirmation of the limited nuclear test ban treaty. This treaty was indeed a major step on the road to peace.

I fervently believe it is not enough to fight against the policies I oppose. We should fight with even greater courage and dedication for the principles in which we believe.

In the 1930's we Democrats fought shoulder to shoulder with Franklin D. Roosevelt for the New Deal. We knew then—and we have not forgotten—the meaning of the four freedoms.

Later—under the leadership of our beloved President Harry S. Truman, we carried on the battle for the rights and aspirations of the common man.

On his inaugural day, President Kennedy pointed to the duty of all Americans—Democrats and Republicans alike. He admonished us "Ask not what your country can do for you—ask what you can do for your country." He summoned all Americans to new heights of working and pulling together. Inspired by these immortal words we have forged ahead in support of the New Frontier. Let us continue to carry forward the program of John F. Kennedy, whom history will record as one of our great Presidents.

And now—under the strong and able leadership of my personal friend and colleague of 22 years, President Lyndon B. Johnson, let us continue to go forward.

I have worked and will continue to support wholeheartedly President Johnson's program for frugality and the elimination of all duplication, waste and unnecessary spending in Government.

Guided by President Johnson, we Democrats will work for full employment. We join in his massive all out attack on poverty. We will work to give to all our citizens a better life and complete civil rights as guaranteed by our Constitution.

Our country is not made great by a comparatively few officials in positions of authority in Washington. It is made great by the courage, industry, intelligence, integrity and enterprise of you from whom that authority comes.

*Cuba file*

#### BRITISH SALES TO CUBA

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, I just listened to the statement made by the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE] complaining about the sales Britain is making to Cuba.

This morning on television, I heard a statement by the Secretary of State also taking exception to the sales that were made to Cuba. The Secretary himself stated that he did not believe it proper for anyone of our allies to be selling critical goods to Cuba. I completely subscribe to that principle. Moreover, it was applicable to our sale of wheat to Russia but we did not adhere to it.

We went down the wrong way when we decided to sell wheat to Russia. The Senator from Wisconsin voted against the measure. I also voted against it. I was then of the opinion that that deed was going to plague us, and it is plaguing us

now by the sales that are being made to our enemy 90 miles from our shores.

Mr. President, I am not given to making predictions, but I believe that we have seen only the beginning. Britain has now made two sales to Cuba, one involving \$10 million worth of buses. Will the Senator from Wisconsin state what the other transaction is?

Mr. PROXMIRE. Yes, indeed. I commend the Senator from Ohio on his position, which I endorse completely. The second transaction involves \$14 million worth of overhaul service on Cuba's planes, and the beginning of a relationship between Cuba and London for a great deal more service in the future. The Cuban mission is now in London working on the subject. As the Senator from Ohio has indicated, the Secretary of State has taken strong exception to it.

It seems to me the activity has not been given the attention in the press that it should have had. It is far more serious than the bus episode, for the aircraft could be used for military purposes.

Mr. LAUSCHE. I thank the Senator.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, I subscribe completely to the statements made by the distinguished Senator from Ohio and the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin. We who represent Florida have an even more difficult task of trying to defend what was done with reference to wheat sales to Russia and the building of a predicate for more and more sales, and contrasting the transactions with our treatment of Cuba. We are in a completely inconsistent situation. It is an indefensible situation for us to move in every way we can to sell profitably to the principal actor in the Communist camp, and at the same time try to penalize our allies who let their ships move goods to Cuba by not permitting those ships to come to our harbors, and in the same bill—the foreign aid bill—also penalize our allies who happen to receive any foreign aid by the condition that if they enter into any sort of commercial relationship with Cuba, foreign aid will cease. I cannot think of our doing two things less consistent and more indefensible than what we are doing in that regard.

I thank both of my able friends for commenting upon the situation.

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, may I have 2 additional minutes?

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. LAUSCHE. When the wheat deal was approved, it was done on the basis that Canada and our allies in Europe had sold commodities to Russia. Therefore, it was argued, we should sell. We fell into the indefensible position of the person who said, "Others are doing it; why should not I?"

The query was not whether the action was right. It was the weak-backed—I would say immoral—position of saying, "Because Jones does it, I will do it, right or wrong."

Mr. President, I cannot subscribe to that reasoning. I repeat that we have seen only the beginning. The course of action will go on interminably.

IMPROVED GRADING STANDARDS  
FOR WHEAT

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, adoption of new and improved grading standards for wheat should be welcome news to the Nation's wheat growers.

This action, perhaps more than anything else, serves notice to the world that we are not content to accept a residual share of the world wheat market after our competitors have satisfied their marketing needs. The improved standards reflect our determination to participate, fully and effectively, in the international wheat trade.

In recent years, the Nation has been plagued with wheat surpluses, acreage allotments and an unfavorable payments balance. The improved wheat standards will help solve these basic problems, and bring closer the day when U.S. wheat growers will be able to make greater use of their productive resources.

The existing standards, with their liberal allowances for admixtures, have been a constant source of embarrassment for handlers and sellers of U.S. wheat.

The new standards, which will go into effect on the 1964 crop, will provide many benefits. To the farmer, it will mean that the quality of his crop will be safeguarded as it moves through marketing channels to the ultimate consumer. Exporters of U.S. wheat will have the assurance that they are representing a product that is more in line with world needs and with wheats now being offered by our major competitors. Foreign buyers also will have more confidence in knowing that they can be assured of a quality product at a fair price.

The Department of Agriculture, and especially the Agricultural Marketing Service, is entitled to commendation for developing the improved standards and putting them into effect.

With these new and improved standards, the U.S. wheat industry will be in a better position to compete in quality markets and to capture an enlarged share of world cash sales.

EDWARD R. MURROW'S SERVICE IN  
THE U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the past 3 years, the U.S. Information Agency itself has not been in the news a great deal. But the Agency has been disseminating a great deal of effective and credible and respected news about this Nation to the rest of the world. This ideal condition, so long sought for the overseas information program, was brought about while the Agency was under the direction of Edward R. Murrow.

Mr. Murrow came into Government service with an outstanding reputation for integrity, creativity, and high responsibility in the use of the instruments of mass communication. He did much to nourish these same characteristics within the structure of the Information Agency. In so doing, he reshaped this arm of the foreign relations of the Nation and made it a far more effective, if less evident, source of strength for the Nation's position in the world. He did so, Mr. President, largely by a firm and

courageous adherence to a simple but very elusive principle that "honesty is the best policy." At the same time, he stresses not only the technological means of communications but the quality and integrity of the information which was disseminated by these means.

It is most regrettable that the condition of Mr. Murrow's health requires his withdrawal from Government service at this time. His talent and character will be sorely missed. I know that the Senate joins with me in an expression of gratitude to him for his service and in the wish for his complete recovery and continued usefulness in whatever he may choose to do in the years ahead.

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. KEATING. I wish to add my word of tribute to Edward R. Murrow for the service he rendered to the people of the United States. Both as a newscaster and a Government policymaker he has pursued policies of integrity and straightforwardness that have won widespread respect. The contribution on that he has made to date is a rich and varied one and it is the hope of all of us that his rich experience will continue to influence our people and Government. I join in the hopes expressed by distinguished majority leader that Mr. Murrow will be soon returned to full health and vigor and will be able again to serve our Nation as he has so illustriously done in the past.

Mr. MANSFIELD. I appreciate those remarks.

Mr. PASTORE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. PASTORE. I should like very much to associate myself with the generous and appropriate remarks made by our distinguished majority leader on behalf of Edward R. Murrow. I came to know Edward Murrow quite intimately in an official way because it was his responsibility to appear before the Committee on Appropriations and explain the needs of his department, and also to elaborate upon the performance of that department in disseminating news and propaganda so that the rest of the world might have the proper image of America. No man in that capacity ever served with greater efficiency, more graciousness, or a better understanding of our way of life. It is regrettable that he has had to lay down his mantle of responsibility for health reasons. I know that all his friends in Washington and throughout the United States, particularly Members of the Senate, join our distinguished majority leader in today saying to Ed Murrow:

May you have many years of good health and useful life; and all of us hope that one day you will again return to public service.

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MANSFIELD. I yield.

Mr. JAVITS. Ed Murrow is a personal friend of mine. I was delighted when he took office, because I thought he would bring great distinction and ability to the Information Agency. Considering

the way we neglect the USIA in terms of authority and appropriation, I think he performed in a creditable manner.

I join my colleague in deprecating and feeling unhappy about the reason why Mr. Murrow has given up the office. I deeply feel that Ed Murrow has left many good years of service for his Nation and our people, and that he will find another way to render service.

I express what I know is the appreciation of the people of my State for the sacrifice he has made and the dedication he has displayed in line of duty.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, the Nation is the loser because of Edward R. Murrow's withdrawal from public service, but, by the same token, the Nation is the beneficiary because of the years he has given in service to the Government and the people of the country, as well as other people of the free world.

## A UNION OF GRIEVING HEARTS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, in the Evening Star, January 22, there appears a moving tribute to the late President Kennedy by the eminent columnist, Mr. Max Freedman. Mr. Freedman's words of insight and understanding enlarge the meaning of the experience which was shared by millions of Americans in the celebration of the requiem mass last Sunday in Boston. His words reveal to us, too, something of ourselves, as Americans, of the shared need to which Mr. Kennedy so uniquely responded and of the gap which remains after his death, the gap which is still filled by a lingering national grief.

I ask unanimous consent that the article by Mr. Freedman be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A UNION OF GRIEVING HEARTS  
(By Max Freedman)

"MASS FOR PRESIDENT KENNEDY UNITED PEOPLES  
OF MANY RELIGIONS AND RACES"

BOSTON.—With a prophetic foretaste of his approaching death, Matthew Arnold wrote in his notebook this verse from Ecclesiastes: "Weep bitterly over the dead, as he is worthy, and then comfort thyself; drive heaviness away; thou shalt not do him good, but hurt thyself."

For the next Sunday, the Sunday after his burial, he wrote: "When the dead is at rest, let his memory rest; and be comforted for him when his spirit is departed from him."

Millions of Americans can never agree. If the splendid cathedral in Boston had been 10 times in size, it would have been filled to overflowing with men and women of all faiths, and of none, eager to join with reverence and hope in the requiem mass to the martyred President. The same emotions united the whole Nation Sunday morning as it listened to Cardinal Cushing celebrate the mass and heard the valedictory loveliness of Mozart's music. The Nation has dried its tears but it cannot forget its grief.

In death President Kennedy has wrought a tiny miracle. He has muted, even if he has not altogether banished, the prejudices of race and religion that have sometimes disfigured Boston. Hundreds of people, resident of Boston all their lives, were in this cathedral for the first time. Many had trouble finding it, so remote is it from the sedate paths of the Boston Brahmins.